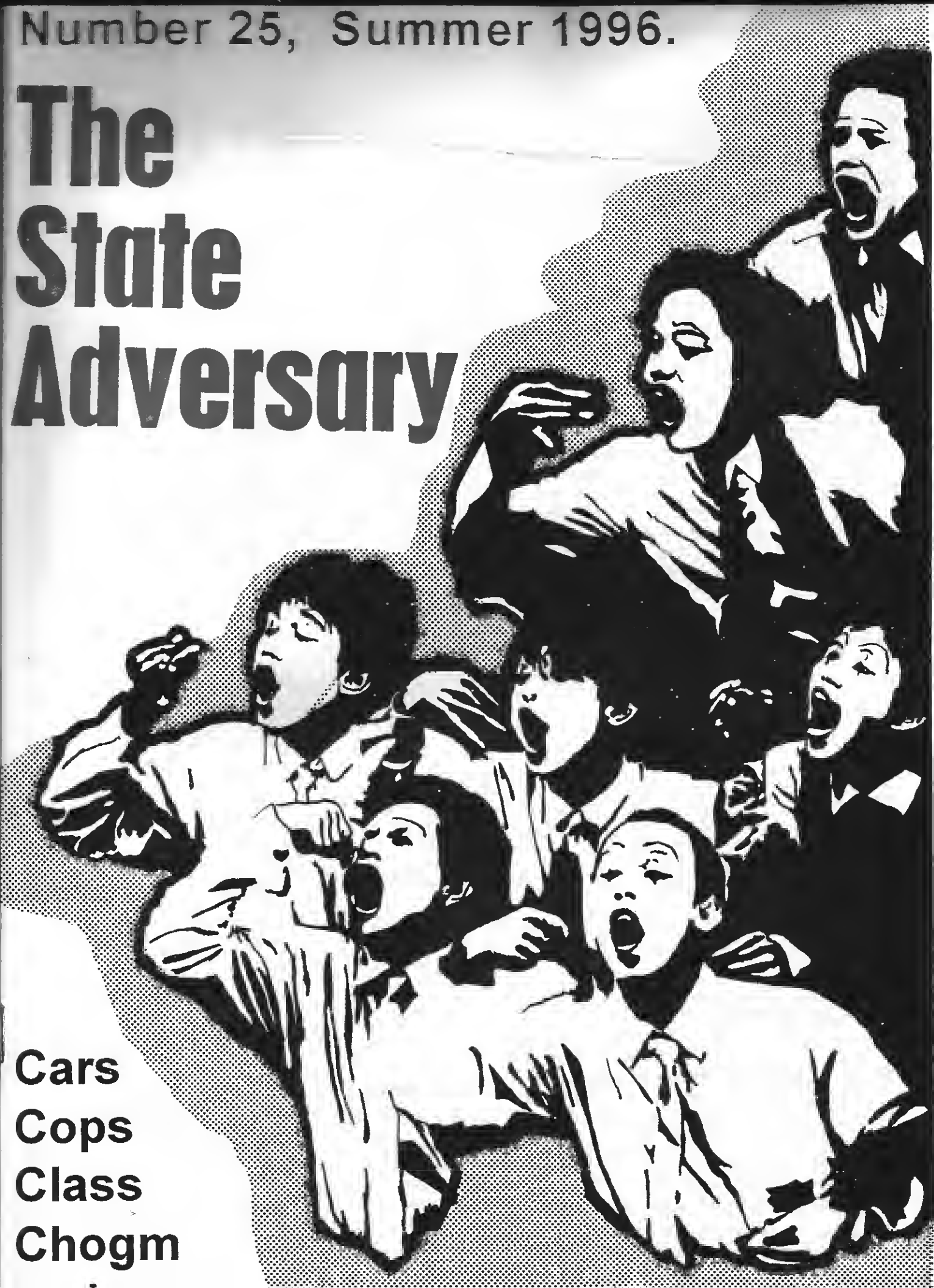


Number 25, Summer 1996.

# The State Adversary

Cars  
Cops  
Class  
Chogm



# The State Adversary

Number 25, Summer 1996



WELL, here it is again. Yes, TSA is late as usual, about six months late this time. We apologise to subscribers and, although it seems to be tempting fate to say so, we expect to do better in the future.

Other commitments and personal hassles have been keeping some members of the collective away from magazine production during the past year.

If people out there want to help make TSA come out on a more regular basis, the best way is to provide us with copy. There is no point to the magazine if it only represents the opinions of a handful of people in Wellington.

We particularly welcome short unbiased news pieces covering events of significance to anarchists, which isn't to say we have anything against clear well-reasoned rantings!

We would like to get more comment on matters discussed in TSA. We've been surprised at how few letters we get. What's the matter - aren't we being iconoclastic enough?

1995 has been an interesting year for the anarchist movement. Over the past few years the movement has grown from a handful of individual activists to being a movement with enough numbers and a degree of organisation that makes other people take it seriously, whether they like it or not. Who would have thought five years ago that we would see an anarchist conference being reported positively on prime time TV?

However, having acknowledged the progress so far, the question is - what next?

At the 1995 conference, it appeared many people agreed that things have advanced as far as they can with the current levels of organisation and methods of doing things. If we don't have a clear idea of where we are heading there is a danger that entropy will set in, people will drift off and progress will halt. We have a long way to go yet. The state isn't going to fall down unless we push it.

The one group that has really made advances in 1995 have been Maori activists. While liberal and Marxist groups have continued their slide into irrelevance.


We need to discuss how anarchists relate to Maori sovereignty issues. Where we ourselves are going and how we are going to get there needs to be discussed. The methods that have made us an effective activist group aren't necessarily the same as those that can make us a movement able to change the direction society is heading.

Think about these things and write to us when you have the answers ■

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 *anarchism* is the political philosophy of people seeking a society in which all individuals have the greatest choice in the way they live their lives. Therefore we work towards the creation of a global network of communities formed by voluntary agreements based on co-operation and respect for the freedom of others. We oppose all forms of oppression including sexism, racism, religious intolerance, discrimination on the basis of sexuality, class structures, the governing of one person by another and any other form of authoritarianism or hierarchy that might happen along. Therefore we support the empowerment of individuals and communities working towards freedom, we support genuine resistance to authority. We are not the slightest bit interested in those who merely seek to replace one authoritarian system with another. Some of us like olives, some of us don't.



## The State Adversary PO Box 9263 Wellington

The State Adversary is produced by the State Adversary Collective, an independent, autonomous collective based in Wellington and open to interested anarchists and supporters.

Opinions expressed in this magazine do not necessarily represent the views of the collective or of any member of the collective or any other organisation.

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## Contributions

Contributions of copy and photographs/graphics are eagerly accepted. TSA is produced on an IBM PC using Microsoft Word 5 and Aldus Pagemaker 5.0, although we have access to Apple Mackintoshes if contributors wish to send material on disc.

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## Advertisements

Advertisements are accepted subject to the discretion of the collective. Rates are negotiable. We like to support progressive groups.

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# Factions fight over anti-nuke group

Wellington's 'Trotskyist' Permanent Revolution Group (PRG) has come under fire for its activities in the anti-nuclear testing group, Non!

Peace movement activists and members of the public have criticised the group for its policy of supporting the right of China and North Korea to possess nuclear weapons.

A member of the PRG carried a placard reading "Defend deformed worker's states against Imperialism. China/N. Korea have the right to nuclear defence" at a demonstration opposing French nuclear weapons testing in Wellington on October 7. Several people said they found the placard objectionable.

Addressing the demonstration on behalf of the PRG, Adaire Hannah said "We have no illusions about the corrupt Stalinist regimes of China and North Korea, but we support their right to defend themselves with nuclear weapons."

Former Non! spokesperson Lou May says she wonders why the PRG became involved in an anti-nuclear campaign. "I think it's ridiculous to be opposed to one person's bomb and not another's."

The PRG walked out of Non! after liberal peaceniks stacked a meeting and voted through a policy opposing nuclear weapons and tests by all countries.

Non! was originally formed by an uneasy grouping of anarchist and liberal peace activists. Its vaguely defined aims were to create a public platform for demonstrating opposition to French nuclear weapons testing at Mururoa, and to oppose French colonial activities in the Pacific and nuclear testing by other nations.

After organising demonstrations on June 26 and July 14, activists from the PRG began attending the groups meetings. Non! changed its status from an ad-hoc group to

## Animal info

*News For Animal Liberation*

Issue 5 \$1.00 from  
Box 22-459 Christchurch  
Aotearoa/New Zealand

being a coalition of groups, and limited its aims to opposing French nuclear testing, resulting in several activists previously involved in Non! losing interest in the group. The group is now defunct.

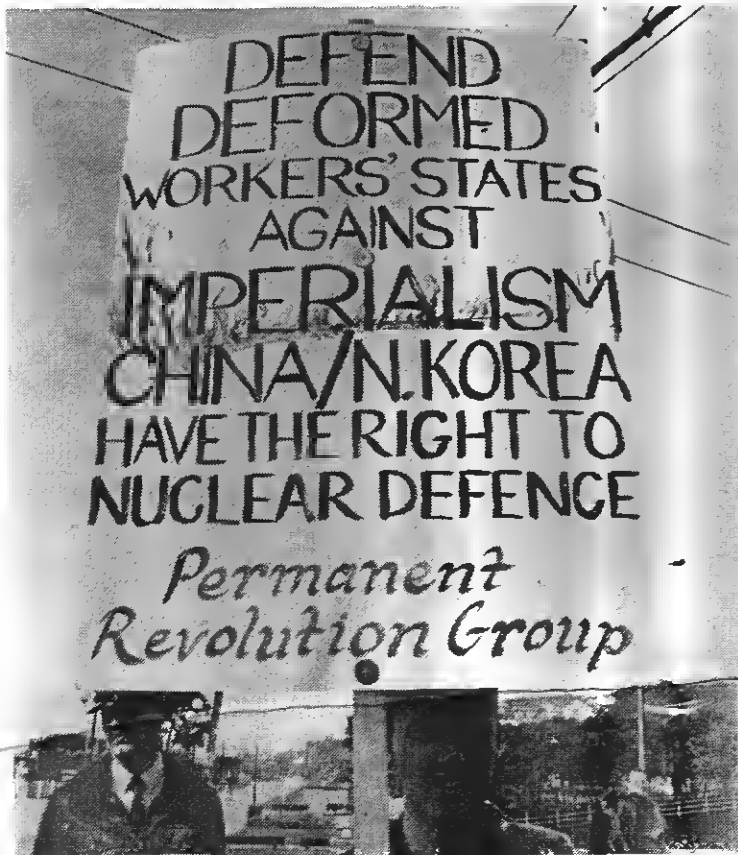
About 500 people attended the march organised by Non! on October 7, the day after the first French test. Some people left the demonstration early saying it was boring. ■

### Multi-national company writes its own laws

THE GOVERNMENT OF PAPUA New Guinea has come under fire for its proposed legislation aiming to minimise compensation for land holders affected by mining.

The legislation was discovered to have been drafted by lawyers employed by Australian mining company BHP, operators of the giant Ok Tedi mine. The mine discharges 80 000 tonnes of rock and sediment into the Fly River each day.

The government of PNG has temporarily stopped work on the registration of customary land following large-scale protests by land owners and students. Land owners feared the registration would lead to the alienation of land held under customary title. The World Bank-backed move would affect 97 percent of the country's land.



The PRG's controversial placard.

## Life begins with Revolt - Anarchism 95'

IT'S 11 A.M. ON FRIDAY 14TH April. I'm carrying a box through the pink and beige foyer of the Social Club for the Blind, when a weird glass-eyed creature sticks a huge mike in my face.

"What's in that box", it demands.

"Bombs," I say, displaying my bad sense of humour. The TV journalist's nostrils dilate.

"No, I think they're bananas."

"What's going to happen today?"

"This afternoon we're going to have workshops on facilitation, anarcha-feminism, the future of anarchism, and anarchism in Russia and Spain."

"That sounds kind of heavy. I thought you anarchists were supposed to be more free-form types."

I give a nervous spiel about self-determination and non-hierarchical organization, while they wander off in search of more vibrant hair colours.

This is the start of four days of stimulating (sometimes frustrating discussion) and intrusive journalists. The media coverage is generally favourable, yet this begs the question as to what extent such coverage is desirable. I find myself waiting to see if I'm on the news when normally I

never watch television.

There is a good range of workshops. Moana Cole discusses Resistance from a Christian anarchist perspective. There are both introductory and advanced sessions on anarchism, and a series of four workshops aiming to create a plan of action for anarchism over the next few years. Particularly rewarding are the sessions on facilitation skills. On a lighter note, Bike Spirituality focuses on the uplifting aspects of cycling, and there is a rope-building workshop among the pine trees of Aro Street Park.

Saturday is McDonald's birthday, so we put some direct action into practice. At Manner's Mall, we hand out McLibel leaflets, and throw sponges at Ronald McDonald (Ross), locked in the stocks. In the evening there are music, conversation, homebrew, and videos such as: "Are you in a Bad State?". On Sunday evening is the Performance Cafe, with inspiring performances by Squawk, Johanna and Val. The ukelele orchestra lightens the mood of the evening, which is rounded off by a strong and moving set of songs by Wendy.

The conference wrap-up session is on Monday afternoon. Problems include the short time slots for workshops, lack of cohesion due to the conference being dispersed over

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C/-Rainbow Flight Kite Shop,  
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TSA, PO Box 9263, Wellington.

#### Hamilton

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Hamilton.

#### Auckland

Auckland section of the Anarchist  
Alliance of Aotearoa.  
5 College Hill, Auckland

three venues, and poor attendance at certain important workshops such as facilitation skills. However, most people seemed to enjoy the range of workshops, and also the food!

At 4 a.m. on Tuesday morning a few tired people are carrying the last boxes of rubbish out of the Social Club for the Blind. We say good-bye. It has been easy to plan and dream over the past few days, but how will we act on it in the future?

## Food Cooperative

A SMALL FOOD COOPERATIVE has been operating from the Wellington anarchist office recently. Every week, basic foodstuffs such as pasta, rice, soya milk and olive oil are bought in bulk at reduced prices and the costs shared.

## Poster Campaign

WELLINGTON ANARCHISTS have been waging a poster and sticker campaign recently. Anarchist and anarcha feminist posters have been enhancing bus stops and stations in Lower Hutt, Petone, Tawa, and



Hungry conference participants await dessert.

## Christchurch News

ANARCHIST ACTIVITY is increasing in Christchurch again after a period of not a lot happening. Libertarian Press (PO Box 21-316, Chch) has published Can Opener (enclosed in this issue of TSA), a review of anarchist publications and two pamphlets dealing with NZ anarchist history. Declaration, the magazine of the national unemployed rights movement is still being produced by Christchurch anarchists.

A new Anarcha-Feminist group is meeting regularly and a feminist street theatre group is being formed. For details phone Gaye on (03) 3749171. ARM is not holding regular meetings again, and is not planning video evenings, political discussions but a group that is not ARM is planning possibly an activist conference in early 1996. They can be contacted at PO Box 22-301, Christchurch. Molten Media, a community printing collective, is soon to be involved in training unemployed

people in desktop publishing and printing skills, at the same time hoping to be providing cheap publishing to community groups. A workshop on decolonisation was held organised with the help of Action For an Independent Aotearoa and anarchists recently organised a successful protest against the Indonesian military occupation of East Timor and the New Zealand military links to that occupation.

The big news in Christchurch is the sacking of over a hundred cleaners from hospital jobs. The multinational corporation P & O is responsible for the sackings as they have the cleaning contract. Demos have been quite militant for New Zealand. P & O own many companies... look them up in the phone book for their nearest office! Anarchists have been helping out on all night pickets of the hospital, providing food and other support over the first two weeks.

## Dunedin News

THERE IS NO formal anarchist group in Dunedin yet, but several people down there have been active in helping make things happen.

The Otago university registry was occupied in May as part of an action against student fees. The Dunedin Education Action Group has been more willing than other groups to target university administrations for their lack of action against fee rises, making their actions more effective than groups who rely on lobbying politicians. Politicians pass the buck to the universities and the universities pass it back again. The EAG also held protests during the National Party annual conference in Dunedin, resulting in seven arrests and complaints to the Police Complaints Authority regarding excessive force. Police were also reported to be swapping identity numbers.

A candlelight vigil to protest French Nuclear weapons testing was held in the Octagon on Bastille Day. An organiser said part of the reason for this type of action was to involve members of the public who had not previously taken part in protests, and to create a precedent for future demonstrations in the Octagon.

Anarchists were also involved in protests in Arrowtown during the visit of Commonwealth leaders for their 'retreat' in the middle of the Chogm meeting, and in anti-McDonalds actions.

There seem to be quite a few anarchist-minded people in Dunedin. How about getting together and seeing if forming some sort of more formal group is possible?

- Info supplied by D'ugh.

## The Politics of Flag Burning

FLAG BURNING has become popular after East Timor independence activists forced a reaction from the New Zealand and Indonesian governments by burning an Indonesian flag outside the Indonesian embassy's Independence Day celebrations in Wellington in August.

The flag burning was a show of support for Australian activists who have been castigated for the same action during protests against Indonesian participation in the Kangaroo 95 military exercises.

The incident was described by a New Zealand diplomat as 'disgraceful'. However, East Timor activist Joe Buchanan said that he would continue to burn Indonesian flags. He stated: "I will continue to burn Indonesian flags while Indonesia continues to fly that flag over occupied East Timor".

Mr. Buchanan said that he burnt the flag as "an act of solidarity with East Timorese activists imprisoned for tearing up an Indonesian flag. East Timorese have also been arrested for displaying their own flag." Mr. Buchanan said that "the New Zealand government should stop apologising and get a sense of proportion."

Reports from West Papua stated that when West Papuans raised their own flag last November the Indonesian government responded by sending combat helicopters and OV-10 Bronco aircraft to strafe the village, killing 120 civilians. Joe Buchanan said that "New Zealand diplomats should spend their time investigating this sort of atrocity instead of condemning justifiable acts of protest."

Another flag was burnt by activist Manu Caddie on September 5, the last day of the Elang Sebrang air force exercise between New Zealand and Indonesia. ■

# Beyond the Motorcar

Greg Smith aims to humanise the inner city

BEFORE I BEGIN discussing the car's place in the inner city, I'll let my personal bias be known: I profoundly dislike cars. They smell, make the air taste bad, make the city look ugly, create annoying noise pollution, and, if you happen to get hit, they hurt. They are an assault on my senses. Literally they make me sick. Statistically they could even kill me. Cars are also an assault on the environment. They cause around 50 percent of air pollution, the biggest single contributor. They make the earth sick.

Yet, given our societies current love affair with the car, the reality is that for now, they are here to stay. We love the individuality and personal freedom cars seem to offer and with it, the convenience of being able to go almost anywhere when we want, without having to organise our lives around other people. There is also an image of status fun, style flexibility and comfort. Performance and power are as big an issue as safety. And they do have their practical advantages, like travelling between cities or carrying large loads.

And so, we are seduced by car culture into owning a car. But just because almost everyone else owns one doesn't necessarily negate their advantages.

True, until the car enters the inner city where its advantages are lost and its negative points multiplied. It would be all right if there was only one car in the city. Travelling would be smooth and we could park where we like. But as soon as we have to share the limited space with other drivers wanting the convenience of the motor car, it's pure pandemonium. Speed is immediately levelled to a start/stop motion averaging 8 km/h in large cities at peak times. As for parking - forget it. We have to park so far away from our destination, we may as well have walked anyway. Unless you want to pay big dollars, and the individuality so cherished by

car owners vanishes in the inner city. The herd animal resurfaces. Any large decisions are controlled by town planners or automatic traffic lights. There is no advantage to owning the latest performance model or most expensive limousine when you are stuck in the traffic. Everyone is equal. So drivers, having lost their convenience, experience anger and frustration making them vulnerable to hypertension, heart attacks and coronary diseases.

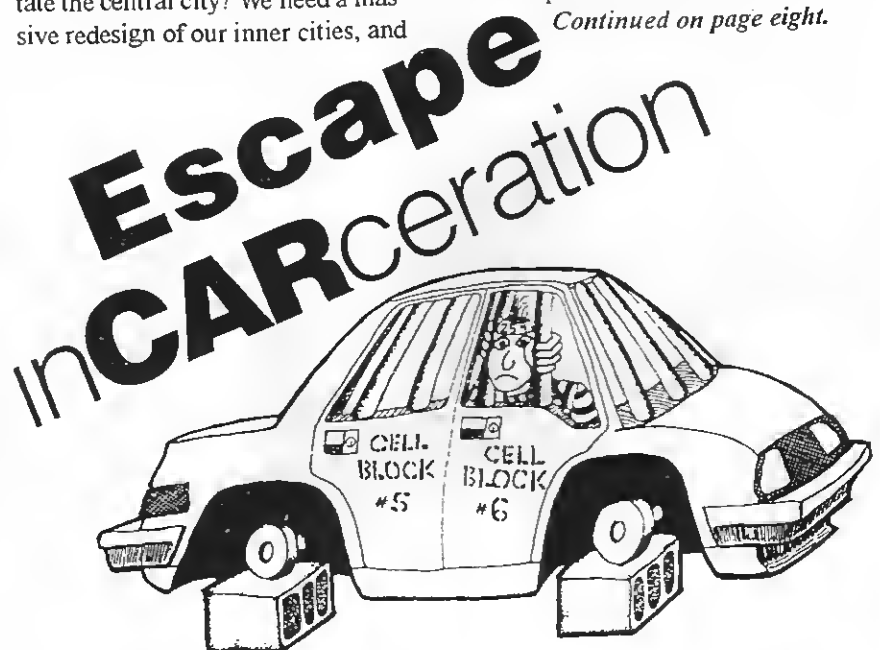
For those of us who live in the inner city, or who are just visiting, this traffic adversely affects our quality of life. We have to put up with the noise, pollution and constant danger of having large levels of traffic in our backyards. Pedestrians are relegated to a strip of pavement crowded between shops and the roads (one third of the city is devoted to cars). Cyclists have to put their life on the line and if they survive in the short term, they face long-term lung damage.

All of this adds up to an inner city that is dehumanised, for the benefit of the motor car, a benefit the car is not designed to take advantage of. An inner city that is not attractive, healthy, or nurturing to people, is sick and in need of repair.

How far do we need to go to resuscitate the central city? We need a massive redesign of our inner cities, and

a total car ban. Divert traffic around the perimeter of the city. Ample parking buildings will lie on this ring, with regular bus and/or tram corridors from the suburbs to the inner city. Bike stands at the buildings will enable commuters to leave their bikes at the buildings for use in town. Cities such as Amsterdam and Copenhagen have successfully eliminated cars from most of the inner city and have good public transport and cycle facilities, whilst at the same time having a vibrant, alive city centre. The city could provide "free" bikes similar to in Amsterdam, where a bike may be obtained for a small deposit from designated bike racks; the deposit being refunded when the bike is returned to any one of the designated bike racks. Central city roads could be converted into pedestrian malls with cycle ways painted in the middle. Restrict motor vehicles to trams or electric buses, except for delivery vehicles at specified times, e.g. early morning. The inner cities would be re-greened and outdoor cafes and live music encouraged. In much the same way as smokers have been banned from buildings because it is antisocial to blow harmful smoke in people's faces, let's ban cars from the inner city. Let's make them healthier places to be.

*Continued on page eight.*





*Continued from page seven.*

Of course the smoke-free option is an extreme position and one city councils are not expected to take on in the near future. Steve Spence, transportables and traffic manager for the Wellington City Council, says the focus is generally moving away from cars, with funding spent in areas other than improving traffic flow, but because government funding is currently allocated to roading and public transport separately, public transport can't be funded with roading money. However he says the plans are to slow growth in commuter traffic by slowing traffic down, providing limited car parking, and not improving the road capacity of the city.

Investment in public transport and cycling is increasing, says Spence. There are plans to improve the inner city environment with substantial investment. He says the controversial planned motorway is intended to improve the street environment by providing a bypass for traffic and relieving the inner city.

It seems as if the Wellington City Council are moving towards a complete traffic ban.

"Not in the next five years, but there is the possibility" says Spence "businesses, especially retailers, will need convincing that it won't take business away. There is the belief that street parking is essential to attract customers. There is the possibility that the suburbs could become satellite cities, taking business away. The AA, chamber of commerce, and retailers are the people who will need convincing."

However the council is aware of the evolution of the councils around the world towards car-free cities. Recently Athens banned cars from its central city. Rome has done for awhile. Singapore charges cars to enter its centre. If pollution levels rise too high, Mexico City temporarily bans cars.

"If these cities can prove business will flourish without cars, Wellington might follow," says Spence.

Once again, NZ becomes a follower rather than a leader, but there is long-term hope for a car-free city.

I also believe this issue is of interest to anarchists on a number of other levels. It is one of our tenets to improve society's quality of life through cooperation toward a people-first ideal. If we were to banish cars from the central city, then citizens would need greater levels of cooperation through public transport, communal bikes and specified delivery times to make it work. Beautification of the city with trees, gardens, fountains and walkways could be a community project. The city would be designed for people, not machines.

Cars symbolise the highest pinnacles of individualism and competition, they are contrary to anarchist principles of cooperation and respect. This push for individualism is promoted by big business exploiting it for a quick dollar, with no concern for our welfare, or that of the environment.

If this country was to become the anarchist paradise we dream of, mass production and importation of motorcars would end. The specialisation, division of labour and hierarchy that is necessary for mass production of motorcars would cease to exist. Obtaining raw materials needed to make a car requires raping the Earth with

complex machines, and a necessarily hierarchic division of labour would again cease to exist. Trading with other countries for cars, specialist parts, and oil, would slow to a trickle because of the expense. In an anarchist society the private, individually owned motorcar would be a memory of the past, replaced by smaller scale transport like boats and bicycles.

The car is effectively a product of rampant capitalism. T.L. Hill writes, "Technology occurs in a social, political, cultural and economic context, and is never neutral. Tools are shaped by their use, by the people or the institutions that control their production and distribution, and by culture which validates, circumscribes or discourages their creation and/or use in different circumstances." The car occurs in a capitalist context, is shaped by capitalist values, and in turn shapes capitalism. An anarchist context would not tolerate the private motorcar and would introduce a more human form of transport.

Reference: T.L. Hill in *Introduction of Questioning Technology; Tool, Toy or Tyrant*. John Zereau and Alice Carnes (eds) ■

## Cars: the Facts

- Motor vehicles produce more air pollution than any other source. They produce half of all carbon dioxide, airborne lead, Sulphur Dioxide, particulates and Carcinogens.
- A car will produce its own weight in carbon each year.
- Cars produce a sixth of the world's greenhouse gases.
- 30 000 people in the United States die of air pollution.
- 85 percent of city noise pollution is caused by traffic.
- 200 000 people worldwide died on the roads in 1985. Accidents cost New Zealand \$500 million a year.
- A third of a city's space is devoted to cars.
- In rush hours cars in cities average 8 km/h.
- Work trips in Mexico City average four hours.
- Cars encourage oil dependency. In 1985 developing nations spent a third of their export earnings on oil.
- Cars are energy inefficient. A car uses 18 600 calories to travel 16 km. A bicycle uses 350 calories to travel the same distance.
- Only 10 percent of the world's population can afford to own a car. 80 percent can afford to own bicycles.
- Half of commuter trips in the UK and three quarters in the US are of less than 8 km/h.
- In 1990 New Zealand had 1.5 million cars, twice the total for 1970. New Zealand is second to the US in cars per capita.
- The average New Zealand car owner drives 15 000 km per year, and pays \$7 500 for fuel, maintenance, registration, insurance and depreciation. They spend 300 hours driving, 600 hours earning this sum of money, and 100 hours cleaning, buying, selling, and repairing the car, and waiting at garages. Total time: 1000 hours to travel 15 000 kilometres. Average speed is therefore 15 km/h.

# Class- is it still

I READ A RIDICULOUS LETTER in the newspaper the other day that claimed society is classless. Seems like some people live in a dream world. Some people think that unless you live in a cardboard box and are under imminent threat of starvation, you must be middle class. Even some people within the general left push this belief, perhaps apologetically stated with a tinge of guilt over the left being largely comprised of white people.

So what is class, and what relevance does have in today's society? If you're one of the people who've swallowed the crap about "we're all middle class now" or "we live in a classless society", maybe you should read on!

We live in a society split along lines of class, where capitalism, the State, and the ruling class dominate us. So what does all this mean?

## Capitalism

Capitalism is an economic system run purely for profit in the interests of a small class - the capitalists - at the expense of a large class - the working class. To give an idea of how small a minority we are talking about, the average figure for Western society is about 7% of the population owning about 85% of the wealth. The whole of our present society is geared to the needs of capitalism. It is the mechanism whereby we sell our labour in exchange for money, to purchase the goods and services we need, which we also happen to have produced in the first place! However, we only get a portion of the wealth our labour produces, the rest goes to the capitalists in the form of profit. This is fundamental to capitalism - in order for it to work the many must produce wealth for the few.

Western-style capitalism is often hailed as being "free market". However, there is no such thing as the free market. All it means is that the capitalists are "free" to exploit us. The situation is the same in the "planned economies" of the remnants of the communist bloc such as China, North Ko-

rea and Cuba. The state replaces individual capitalists as one giant company benefitting the party hierarchy the most.

Capitalism has nothing to offer us except an endless cycle of wars (such as the Gulf War and the intervention in Somalia, fought to maintain control of oil supplies), famine (in many Third World countries large amounts of food is exported to the West while millions starve), recession and unemployment. It is not inevitable that it will die of its own accord - it could linger on for centuries yet, lurching from crisis to crisis. Therefore it must be destroyed.

## The State

Although capitalism is the major form of social organisation in terms of production, there are things that it can't do. Broadly speaking it cannot supply the "social" organisation of society, this hole is filled by something else, the state.

The state is the means by which a tiny minority control and dominate the rest of us, in the interests of the ruling power in our society - the capitalists. The state is a set of institutions and bodies through which government is exercised, e.g. parliament, local government, government departments, civil service, police, law, education/schools and the Church. The aim of government is to keep a lid on class conflict, to control competition between capitalists, and to make sure society runs smoothly. It does this by enforcing the laws of private property and the right of capitalists to buy and sell. It doesn't matter whether that property is land, food, health, sex, factories, houses or anything else that takes their fancy.

But the state existed before capitalism, and has always controlled and oppressed in the interests of whatever ruling class is in power (monarch, military etc.) and what-

EAT THE RICH



ever economic system they choose to use. In Western-style democracies we are given the "choice" every few years to vote for which party we would like to govern us. This, like many other "choices" is a false one, a con trick to fool us into thinking we can change things by voting. While some change can occur, it is usually only if a particular party uses it to get political advantage out of it. For example, the Labour Party got elected in 1984 largely due to their promise to ban nuclear power and weapons. The National Party has wanted to change the antinuclear law since they got in power, but haven't for fear of losing votes. Voting also gives us politicians, and figureheads, to blame for difficulties resulting from capitalism.



# relevant today?



The reality is that the power of the state lies with the capitalists, and the state's own officials - they pull the strings. With this concentration of power there is always the risk that a small group will gain control of the State, as can be seen in the numerous communist, fascist and military take-overs that have taken place around the world. This is nothing more than swapping one set of bosses for another, when in reality it is better to sweep the lot of them away.

## Class

Because capitalism is exploitative, and the state represents domination, the society they have produced is split into different categories, or classes, of people.

It is important that we stress here that we have to generalise to some extent when defining class, there are always exceptions to the rule, and there are also subsections within classes that can confuse the picture. However, the main categories are:

**The Ruling Class.** About 5% of the population. Some examples are: owners of major companies, large landowners, judges, top cops, Church leaders and the aristocracy, including a Royal Family (whether the UK and Commonwealth Royals and numerous others).

**The Middle Class.** About 20% of the population. Some examples: doctors, management, priests, officers in the armed forces, the owners of small businesses that

employ others as 'employees' under a boss, and others who control the means of production.

**The Working Class.** About 75% of the population. Some examples: factory, shop and office workers, nurses, agricultural workers, soldiers up to NCO level and the unemployed.

## The Ruling Class

In general, there are two main factors that give you your place in the class system: wealth and power. The ruling class rule, but don't actually govern - that is left to the state's politicians and officials. They don't all sit around in smoke-filled rooms conspiring to oppress us, they don't need to most of the time. So how do they keep us in place? By the old trick of divide and rule: setting one race against another (a favourite trick of fascists in particular, but immigrants are often used to bring wages down, and then blamed for unemployment increasing in recessions), worker against worker (scabs and strikebreakers) or by blind patriotism (such as the America's Cup and all the hype around it). This breaks down any sense of class solidarity, identity and unity - without which revolution is an impossible dream.

## The Middle Class

Contact between the ruling class and the working class is rare. Most interclass contact comes between the middle and working classes. The middle class is made up of many subsections and layers, all performing different roles and functions necessary for capitalist society to function. Basically, they manage the working class in the interests of the ruling class.

The most recognisable role for the middle class is the economic management of business and industry, e.g.

work/factory managers, and accountants.

By its very nature capitalism is filled with brutality and inequality. If left to its own devices it would end in either barbarism or class revolution. Neither is any good to the ruling class, so this must be prevented by capitalism putting on a "human face" - the "caring" side of capitalism. A large section of the middle class serves this function. They mop up the casualties of class society, and providing a "buffer" for class anger, and sometimes channelling it into minor tinkering with social conditions. They also provide the vital services we need, but at a cost to us - they have virtual control over whole areas of our lives.

A less obvious role of the middle class is to provide an intellectual and cultural framework in which ideas that serve the interest of the ruling class become part of our everyday thoughts. Certain ideas, stereotypes and myths are endlessly repeated to try to stifle our class consciousness and turn us into "model citizens". These can be the crude lies like "all blacks are lazy and thick", or the more sophisticated crap about our so-called "classless society".

Examples are the media and advertising industries, the education system and churches.

Capitalism must have a constant supply of new ideas to create new markets and sustain profits. It must also evolve in order to survive. Middle class researchers and intellectuals provide the information necessary to make this possible. This is true right from university professors to the new so-called "green" entrepreneurs.

Because of the varied roles of the middle classes there are often contradictions and conflicts within its ranks. When the class struggle comes to a head it forces them to choose sides. As a general rule those near the top side with the bosses, having most to lose. Those who come to our side can only do so on our terms, which is to join us as equals, and not in their usual role as leaders.

## The Working Class

*Continued on page ten.*

## Class War

Continued from page 10

The briefest way of describing our class is to say that we are everyone who is not in the middle and ruling classes! This is not just a smart remark. In general the working class are people who live by their labour. The ownership of property that generates wealth is the dividing line - if you have enough property or money to make others work for you, you are not working class.

The other part of class identity is "social power". The working classes do not have power, we are the ones who are told what to do. We are the creation of capitalism. We are defined not by what we do, but by what is done to us. This does not mean that we are powerless - far from it. The state spends vast amounts of money and energy to keep us in our place, introducing laws like the Employment Contracts Act and bringing in police to break up strike pickets. Because our work is at the centre of everyday economic activity it is fair to say that everything hinges around whether we want to "play the game" or not.

Class is a much disputed topic. The ruling class need to confuse the issue in order to survive. If the majority of people had a clear idea of the workings of a class society, social control would be impossible and the ruling class would be toppled from their positions of wealth, privilege and power.

As capitalism developed and

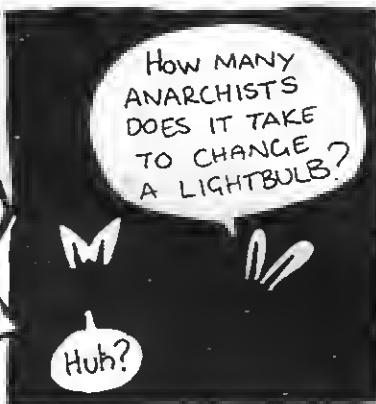
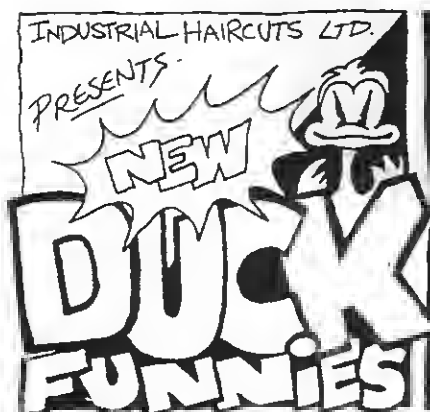
class society became a feature of people's lives, the ruling class found it necessary to stifle class consciousness, and even to get working class people to identify with capitalism. Myths like "we're all middle class now" or "we live in a classless society" are laughable and contradictory. They are the rantings of people who definitely are not at the bottom of the heap, who want to wish away class conflict and create a false sense of equality.

With the rise of the "consumer society" and the easy availability of credit, more and more people can afford things like their own house, car, holidays abroad etc. But this increase in personal wealth in no way increases your social power, and can be reversed in times of recession. The fact that working class people in the First World have more wealth than working class people in the Third World does not mean that they are "middle class" in comparison. The ruling class of both First and Third worlds collaborate to maximise their profits at our expenses. With the rise of multi-national corporations, ruling class power became more international. Whole industries can be shifted across borders to where labour is cheaper and easier to exploit. That is how First World working class people can have more personal wealth than their Third World counterparts, but it is the ruling class who are in control of the situation. At the end of the day all these extra goods depend on your ability to work. The day you lose your job or can't keep up the payments, they all go out the window

along with the credit that made them available. At the same time that we become able to afford a few extra goodies, the wealth of the already rich and powerful increases fantastically. What counts is not token improvements in our lifestyles, but the gross inequalities in the overall distribution of power and wealth.

With the running down of the traditional heavy industries throughout the First World, the old image of the working class (the stereotype of the man in blue overalls) has dramatically changed - massively so in the 1980s. In its place is more white-collar workers, and a rise in service and high-tech industries and part-time employment. This is where a lot of the myths of the "classless society" come from: just because you don't get your hands dirty or you work in an office doesn't mean you're a yuppie. Just because there is a more diverse labour market doesn't mean that the working class has disappeared.

The end of class society can only come about through working class revolution. This is because the working class is the only social group capable of this massive transformation of society, by virtue of the fact that we are the overwhelming majority and because we have the interest, motivation and ability to do so. History has shown us many examples of the working class's ability. There is no reason for thinking the future will be different.



### Class Struggle

Once you are aware of how crap this society is you can either:

- 1) Do nothing because you belong to the middle or ruling classes and have a lot to lose through a revolution.
- 2) Take a cynical "why bother" attitude, believe that this is the way it will always be and go back to sticking your head in the sand.
- 3) Believe that things should change and that we have to organise and fight back

How you go about doing number three depends on how much change you want, and what you are prepared to do. Some people feel they are changing society by joining Greenpeace and/or becoming vegetarian. There's nothing wrong with being an environmentalist, vegetarian, or working on single issues in isolation from each other. However if you think that it will change the structure of society then you are being extremely naive! The same goes for those who think that by "dropping out" and living some sort of "alternative lifestyle" they are challenging the status quo.

Others think that by voting for a minor party such as the Alliance,

they'll achieve change. As said earlier, while some token changes can be made, they are only achieved when they are to the state's advantage to do so. There is no point in "waiting for a government that really listens" or electing "progressive" councillors because it is about as revolutionary as a pond full of ducks! Their political aims and ideas are generally just a "soft" version of capitalism.

Some people join left-wing groups of varying degrees of radicalness or lunacy. They do want to change

society and realise (well some do) that it will only change through a revolution. What needs to be examined in these groups is how they see revolution coming about, what type of society will be formed and by who. Generally it will be a case of "Same shit, different pile." There is no point in destroying capitalism just so that it can be replaced by a *new* State, and new laws.

The community is of crucial importance to our class. Any major industrial battles will not succeed without massive community support, such as pickets and food parcels for striking workers. Crime and other antisocial behaviour such as racism and sexism must be fought from within our communities; we can't sit back and wait for someone else, such as the police or the left, to do it for us. We have no intention of being ordered around or intimidated by any group or individual.

Any movement that seeks to abolish class society cannot do so as an elite group. Instead the revolutionary elements within various struggles need to be played up, aiming towards creating a "culture of resistance". At present capitalism invades all areas of our lives - in turn we will have to retrieve every part of them. ■

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## THE FREEDOM SHOP

THE FREEDOM SHOP opened on the 1st of May this year, following a total refurbishing. It has done extremely well in its new incarnation. Formerly the NORML shop, this cozy space is now a shared project. This success was very much helped by NORML covering the rent! The renovations included repainting the outside, and sprucing up the inside by adding some nice green painted shelves and polishing the floor. Since opening, we have sold tons of anarchist goods. Profits have been put back into the shop, for ordering more books, etc. The shop is staffed by volunteers, allowing prices to be kept as low as possible - books for the working class at working class prices! Our stock includes books, magazines, pamphlets, leaflets, T-shirts, patches, records, and stickers. A catalogue is available by sending an SAE to PO Box 9263, Te Aro, Wellington. There is a good selection of books by Noam Chomsky, bell hooks and other luminaries. The shop is located at 272 Cuba St., and is open from Monday to Friday, 10 a.m. to 6 p.m., and Saturday 10 a.m. to 2 p.m.

# Much ado about Chogm...

THE COMMONWEALTH Heads of Government meeting and its attendant protests have come and gone leaving nothing changed.

The most positive results of the meeting were the obligatory watered-down resolution condemning France's nuclear weapons tests and the suspension of military-ruled Nigeria's membership of the Commonwealth. Not surprisingly, the French government shows no sign of being much bothered by empty words and the small importance the Nigerian government attaches to Chogm was amply demonstrated by their willingness to murder their opponents on the eve of the meeting. Since the suspension hasn't prevented Shell signing a major contract with the maniacs controlling that country, their attitude appears well justified.

Neither did the ritualised protests against the event do anyone much credit.

While hundreds of Sikhs, Tamils and Sri Lankans turned out for their respective nationalist demos, the best the supposed coalition of groups under the Chogm Action banner could muster was around 150 people. The heavy-handed policing successfully prevented the group from doing anything other than being herded around the footpaths by squads of the 2000 or so cops on duty at the event. The group's political agenda was vague and little effort seemed to be put into communicating with the public.

Many arrests, nearly all for obstruction, were made after protesters ignored police orders to move. It is hard to see what this achieved. There is a certain amount of humour in the police blocking off large amounts of the city then arresting activists for obstructing footpaths, but it's a lot of effort to go to for a laugh. Especially in the case of several young people from Dunedin who presumably, will now have to return to Auckland for court appearances. What a waste of time and energy. At the risk of sounding patronising, I feel peo-



A few of the 2000 police at Chogm line up for a photo.

ple were being used as cannon fodder. This continued policy of generating arrests seems to point to a complete bankruptcy in political tactics.

A surprisingly small group of activists, never more than about 30, protested for Maori sovereignty, and were reasonably successful in gaining media coverage. However, a good point was made by a Tuhoe activist at the occupation of Taneatua railway station - why take on the state where it expects you to? He suggested activists should have held occupations around the country while security forces were tied up at Chogm.

Auckland anarchists made an attempt at a more creative statement by dressing as clowns and playing hop-scotch in front of police lines. This was something of a failure as police inexplicably made five arrests as the group moved across the road in accordance with police instructions. At last the charges have a chance of being laughed out of court.

One of the more illuminating protests held over the week of the Chogm meeting was the anti-nuclear rally held on Friday. Intended to put pressure on British PM John Major to condemn French testing, organisers were so keen to avoid controversy they even arranged a banner to hide the word 'independent' in the slogan 'Nuclear-free and independent Pacific'.

A speech by veteran Maori activist Eva Rickard was followed by a kerfuffle as members of the crowd abused the sovereignty activists and the MC of the event, broadcaster and failed Auckland Alliance mayoral candidate Pam Corkery, attempted to clear them from the stage. Corkery ended up having a slanging match with a sovereignty activist in the crowd.

This was followed by some empty sloganeering from Alliance party leader Jim Anderton who told everyone to unite as the threat of nuclear weapons affected us all. 'Unity' is a word seldom heard from the likes of Anderton except when they want people to shut up and stop rocking the boat. Anyway, don't sovereignty issues affect all of us, Jim?

Well, so much for Chogm. Little of any use has come out of it, but the events have highlighted many questions the left must address regarding protest tactics, movement building, and working with other groups. In the past most activists have been happy to make a spurious claim of victory and sweep problems under the carpet. Hopefully, this time the issues will be addressed.

- Sam Buchanan

- Police tactics at Chogm will be discussed in the next issue of TSA.



## Police Five



A regular column on policing and how to avoid it.

A GOOD DEMONSTRATION should be good fun. Right kids? But some people will always try and spoil the fun. Police, in particular, try and spoil the fun by harassing or arresting people, or by making up rules to stop the demo being effective.

There is a school of thought that says arrests at demos encourage media coverage and thus publicise the issue you are making a fuss about. However, if you can't think of a better way to publicise your cause, you should probably stay at home and do some more thinking before going to demos.

Arrests are a bloody nuisance. It takes up heaps of time and energy going through the court processes, even if you get off in the end. If you don't there is the added hassle of fines, community service or worse. All this takes time, energy and money away from the real work of overthrowing the state/saving the world.

There are rare occasions when getting arrested as a form of protest can be worth the effort, but it takes great skill, timing, and a sound knowledge of the legal system to achieve anything useful. Think things through very carefully before you try it.

Getting arrested by mistake usu-

ally happens one of two ways. You get angry and do something silly. You are doing something a little bit dodgy and misjudge the tolerance of the forces of law and order. A policeman gets out of bed on the wrong side, takes a dislike to your haircut or something, and decides to have a go at you for no particular reason.

There is not much you can do about the latter eventuality, but it helps to have a good knowledge of the law. Remember, the more often cops get into trouble when they make unwarranted arrests, the more cautious they will be in the future. If it is clear you know what you are doing and are going to fight it out in the courts every inch of the way, they may decide to save the hassle and drop the charges.

Liaising with police before demos can give you an idea of what actions the police will tolerate and what will result in arrests. This can't be guaranteed as police operational commanders may ignore the advice of the liaison officer.

The main technique for avoiding arrest is knowing just how far you can take things. There are no clear legal boundaries between what is legal behaviour and what isn't, it de-

pends on the circumstances, the attitude of individual cops, the colour of your skin, and the price of your suit.

There are three common charges laid at demos, obstruction, assault and disorderly behaviour. Obstruction means intentionally preventing, delaying, or making it harder for police to carry out their duty. It usually refers to physically preventing a cop from doing something, but could also be used against somebody who, for instance, deliberately blocks a cops view while an offence is committed, or warns an offender of the approach of a cop.

Assault means any unwanted physical contact, you don't have to injure, or intend to hurt someone to be charged with assault. Shaking hands is OK, but brushing against a cop in the course of a scuffle may not be.

Disorderly behaviour is a nicely undefined charge. What is disorderly is very much a matter of opinion. Throwing things, kicking police cars, banging on windows and being impolite in the presence of important people are the sorts of things covered. It tends to be a catch-all for when the police can't think of anything else to charge you with. Bear in mind the judge may disagree with the police as to whether your actions were disorderly.

Arrests for a 'breach of the peace' are common law arrests, rather than statutory arrests. This means there is no act of parliament giving the police the power to arrest you for a certain reason as is the case with other forms of arrest, but it has been established in court that police are able arrest a person they believe is 'breaching the peace'. This covers very minor acts of bad behaviour. There are no charges and you don't go to court or face punishment. You will be held at the police station for a while and then released.

Likelihood of arrest depends on what you are doing and where. Police may be quite happy to let you get away with things if you are out of sight of the public, media, and 'important' people, arresting people means lots of paperwork and they don't usually do it just for fun.



Trouble in Legoland - Auckland police display their new water-filled plastic barricades outside the Chogm venue.

*Continued on page fourteen*



*Continued from page thirteen.*

Arrests often happen because they think they'll look bad if they don't do something. Sometimes you can get away with something if it is short and sharp, but if it continues, they will eventually decide they are being made fools of, and lumber into action. Police don't like to look silly, especially in the presence of 'important' people, like diplomats, royalty and politicians, so policing will be heavier if such people are around.

People are more likely to be arrested if they can be singled out from the crowd. If a thousand people are doing something mildly illegal, the police are unlikely to try making arrests. If one person can be singled out they may be in trouble, good organisation can prevent this happening by stopping cops picking out 'ringleaders' (real or imaginary).

A growing trend in policing is to avoid making arrests in crowd situations, and instead identify people to be arrested when convenient. Don't assume that if you get away with something at the time you are safe. Police in Britain refined this technique during the Trafalgar Square Poll Tax Riot in 1990. Rather than attempt to arrest people during the riot, they videoed the crowd and picked out people to be arrested in the comfort of the police station. For this to work, they need to know beforehand who you are, and where to find you, but a cruder version of the same technique is to pick you up as you leave a demo, or to wait until most of the crowd has gone before moving in.

To avoid such arrests you can do two things, avoid identification or get away quickly. If you go to demos with a bright blue mohawk or wear an orange caftan, it is obviously going to be easy for a cop to remember which member of the crowd lobbed an egg at the Prime Minister. Sometimes covering your face with a scarf or face paint can help, but also remember you are going to stand out like a sore thumb if you are the only person wearing a black balaclava. An unobtrusive hat can hide your hairstyle. Or you can try wearing some-

thing that can be quickly stuffed into your pocket or bag if you need to change your appearance.

If you suspect a cop has picked you out stick in the middle of the crowd until you can leave unobtrusively. Check out escape routes beforehand if you are expect to get involved in dodgy activity. Duck into a shop or arcade and leave by another exit or blend into a shopping crowd, and avoid police stations for a while. If you're at a demo and someone else is attempting to avoid arrest, try and cover for them, but beware of getting done for obstruction yourself. Acting stupid can help. If arrests are likely, a demo should move away from the scene as a whole, and disperse elsewhere.

Certain police, individuals and sections, have attitude problems and seem to go out of their way to stir up trouble. For that matter so do certain people at demos. Winding up or harassing cops doesn't seem to achieve anything except to reinforce their negative attitudes towards activists.

Talking to them intelligently about the issues involved isn't likely to achieve much either, but you never know. It lets them know you're human, and they are probably less likely to beat up someone they've been chatting to than someone whose been screaming in their ear for the past half hour (but remember to watch what you say, don't let slip information they can use).

The Diplomatic Protection Squad, police whose job is to protect 'important' people have a reputation for high-handedness and arrogance. They take their job very seriously and should be treated with particular care. You could try quoting the Police Manual of General Instructions, Section D31 paragraph (2) "In policing demonstrations, members of the police shall ensure they... exercise a high level of tact, tolerance and restraint... always be completely impartial."

I doubt if it will do any good.

- Sam Buchanan

## McLibel Update

**MCDONALD'S ARE TRYING to stop people finding out the truth about their business.**

The panicked multinational junk food empire is suing two English environmentalists for handing out leaflets criticising McDonald's huge production of waste, their fatty, unhealthy junk food, their cruelty to animals, and their hostility to workers.

**The Trial So Far**

Helen Steel and Dave Morris are being sued for leafletting about McDonald's appalling environmental record, as a producer of huge amounts of waste, abuser of animals, and exploiter of workers.

Somme of McDonald's statements in court include:

- McDonald's own nutrition expert admitting that McDonald's food is high in fat and sugar, and that it is "not sensible" to encourage eating this kind of food!
- Ed Oakley, Senior Vice President of McDonald's UK claimed that the dumping of waste can be "a benefit" to the environment!

• McDonald's admitted that in Costa Rica their stores used beef reared on ex-rainforest land. Costa Rica beef is used in its stores in the USA, contrary to their own propaganda.

• McDonald's admitting that over 1000 chickens a day in the UK enter scalding tanks *alive* to be boiled to death before being made into junkfood.

Here in New Zealand we have seen how McDonald's lied to customers by having fake recycling bins out for their waste, which was then dumped with all the rest of their rubbish!

**Do the Earth a favour - Avoid McDonald's!**

You'll also be reducing your chance of McStroke or McCancer by not eating their fatty junkfood.

For more information write to:  
McLibel Support Campaign,  
PO Box 14-156  
Kilbirnie, Wellington,  
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# TSA ADVERSARIAL OPINIONS

Write to us • P O Box 9263 • Wellington

## McGillicuddies

Dear TSA,

I CAN'T HELP but disagree with Jo Buchanan's critique of the McGillicuddies (TSA, No.24).

While it is sometimes true that the McGillicuddies satiric message can be lost behind the costume of 'mock silliness', I believe the wearing of kilts and the like underlies a more important theme, i.e., the medium is more important than the message. In my utopian Anarchist society, there would be a network of tribes/clans. Each one will adopt idiosyncratic customs, rites, rituals, art and manners of dress that would make the clanspeople of one unique from another. Naturally, the further you travel geographically, the more tribal culture would differ. These differences between tribes will be embraced by each clansperson so that it becomes part of their identity, and thus integral for self-respect, self-worth and pride.

McGillicuddies have embraced this theme and have begun to implement it on a daily level. The wearing of a kilt is an anarchist statement in itself because it identifies the wearer as a member of a different (sub)culture.

When Jim Bolger laughs at McGillicuddies, the jokes on him. We are beginning to create our anarchist vision outside of his pathetic nationalist regime.

It also seems as if Jo is a non-believer in the transformative power of laughter. When we make someone laugh, society is changed for the better.

But I guess this is not what Jo means when he writes of wanting to change society. My impression is that he means changing the institutional structures, the power

hierarchies, and the systems that make up our current nation-state. Go for it, Jo. I hope you have the necessary patience and don't mind spending your energy on something that only changes incredibly slowly. I believe the best way to change society is to create an anarchist lifestyle outside of mass society, to watch Babylon decay and suffocate under the weight of its own excrement.

Yours sincerely,

Greg Smith,  
Hamilton.



## Maori Sovereignty

IN 1995, WELLINGTON ANARCHISTS have supported the people of Pakaitore Marae in their peaceful occupation of their own land by producing two pamphlets (*Tino Rangatiratanga* and *Pakaitore*, reviewed opposite). These served both to spread information, and as fundraising - all money from the sales went straight to the people of Pakaitore. During the occupation a fundraising dinner was held at Crossways, and proved very successful. \$300 being raised. In July we also organised a meal and meeting at the People's Resource Centre. Ken Mair and other spokespeople from Pakaitore spoke, and networking between anarchist and Maori groups was discussed.

## Book Reviews

### *Tino Rangatiratanga*

produced by the Anarchist Alliance of Aotearoa: 36 pages, \$3.00.

This booklet is based on a collection of articles on Tino Rangatiratanga originally put out by the people of Pakaitore Marae. It contains a history of the endlessly repeating Government treachery towards Maori in regard to the Treaty, and has sections on the little-known Declaration of Independence of Aotearoa signed in 1835, and the real story behind John Ballance, Aotearoa's racist fascist prime minister between 1890-93. Essential reading to stave off the media manipulation of history. All money from sales goes to the people of Pakaitore Marae.

### *Pakaitore: Whanganui Iwi Declaration of Nationhood*

produced by the Committee for the Establishment of Civilization: 12 pages, \$2.50. (all money goes to the people of Pakaitore)

Compiled as the High Court was still deliberating the fate of the disputed land and its occupiers, this is a useful source of information on the basics of the original sale of Pakaitore, Tino Rangatiratanga, and the philosophical and historical perspective of the Whanganui Iwi. One of the few sources of information based on information given by the Iwi themselves, and not the mass media, and therefore a tool for understanding what all the fuss is about. If you still have questions, then read about the Treaty of Waitangi - that's where this declaration is coming from. Excellent introduction to understanding the Pakaitore occupation.

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# **Whanganui Iwi**

## **Declaration of Nationhood**

The following articles are recognised by the Whanganui iwi as reaffirming our supreme absolute authority over all our rivers, lakes, streams, mountain, lands, and other taonga (tangible and intangible).

1. That the Mana and Tino Rangatiratanga of the Whanganui - Whanganuitanga - was, and is the supreme absolute authority which incorporated and incorporates our inherent right to utilise and exercise full and total control over all our rivers, lakes, streams, mountains, lands, and all other taonga (tangible and intangible).
2. That the Mana and Tino Rangatiratanga of the Whanganui - Whanganuitanga - was, and is the supreme absolute authority which incorporated and incorporates full and total decision making authority of all structures, institutions, and processes that involves all our rivers, lakes, streams, mountains, lands, and all other taonga (tangible and intangible).
3. That the Mana and Tino Rangatiratanga of the Whanganui - Whanganuitanga - was, and is the supreme absolute authority which incorporated and incorporates our inherent right to fully participate in benefits from and make all decisions about the use and applications of existing and future industrial, commercial and technological advances, as they affect and relate to all our rivers, lakes, streams, mountains, lands, and all other taonga (tangible and intangible).
4. That the Mana and Tino Rangatiratanga of the Whanganui iwi - Whanganuitanga - incorporated and incorporates our inherent right to protect, enhance, and fully control the transmission of the spiritual, intellectual, cultural, historical, political, educational, social, economic knowledge in te tikanga of the iwi o Whanganui through:

**Rarangi Matua  
Whare Wananga  
Runanga-A-Iwi**

5. That the Mana and Tino Rangatiratanga of the Whanganui iwi - Whanganuitanga - incorporated and incorporates our inherent right to all physical, emotional and intellectual development for the collective well-being of our people, our tribal nation by:

**Rarangi Matua  
Whare Wananga  
Runanga-A-Iwi**

**TOI TU TE KUPU, TOI TU TE MANA, TOI TU TE WHENUA  
TOI TU TE WHANGANUITANGA, TOI TU TE MATUA IWI  
TIHEI MAURI ORA!**

**CONTROL OVER OUR DESTINY IS SELF-DETERMINATION  
SELF-DETERMINATION IS INDEPENDENCE  
INDEPENDENCE IS NATIONHOOD  
NATIONHOOD IS RANGATIRATANGA**

